

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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R 061200Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4620

S E C R E T STOCKHOLM 2221

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DEPARTMENT REPEAT AS DESIRED

E.O. 111652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, MASS, BEXP, SW

SUBJECT: RECOMMENDATION FOR CLOSER COORDINATION OF US POLITICAL  
AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE POLICY IN SWEDEN

REF: STOCKHOLM 1898

SUMMARY: AFTER A YEAR IN STOCKHOLM, I HAVE BECOME CONVINCED  
WE ARE UNDERESTIMATING THE IMPORTANCE AND USEFULNESS OF MORE  
TIGHTLY COORDINATING OUR POLITICAL OBJECTIVES WITH THE  
OBJECTIVES WE SEEK TO PROMOTE IN THOSE PARTICULAR MILITARY-  
INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFIED RELATIONSHIPS WITH SWEDEN THAT REQUIRE  
NEGOTIATION UNDER THE US-SWEDISH DEFENSE EXCHANGE AGREEMENT.  
I WOULD APPRECIATE THE DEPARTMENT'S COMMENTS ON MY  
RECOMMENDATIONS THAT I BE:

1) KEPT CURRENTLY INFORMED OF COMMUNICATIONS OR OTHER  
APPROACHES RECEIVED IN THE DEPARTMENTS OF DEFENSE OR  
STATE FROM OR VIA THE SWEDISH EMBASSY REGARDING NEW OR  
EXPANDED MILITARY DATA EXCHANGES AND RELATED INDUSTRIAL  
COOPERATION;

2) CONSULTED ON THE POSSIBLE POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF  
NEW DATA EXCHANGES UNDER CONSIDERATION. END SUMMARY

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1. I BELIEVE THAT, UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES, OUR MILITARY

DATA EXCHANGE AGREEMENTS WITH SWEDEN CAN AND SHOULD BE EFFECTIVELY EMPLOYED AS LEVERS ON SWEDISH CONDUCT TOWARDS US AND OUR POLITICAL OBJECTIVES. I AM ALSO WELL AWARE OF INHIBITIONS ON OUR LEVERAGE ARISING FROM OUR INTEREST IN AN EFFECTIVE SWEDISH DEFENSE CAPABILITY AND IN OUR PROMOTION OF DEFENSE-RELATED EXPORTS.

2. AT THE MOMENT OUR RELATIONS WITH SWEDEN ARE IMPROVING. THIS IS JUST THE TIME FOR A DISPASSIONATE EXPLORATION OF (A) PRESSURE POINTS FOR EVENTUAL USE IF AND WHEN NEEDED, AND (B) WAYS TO IMPROVE COORDINATION EVEN IF WE DO NOT ANTICIPATE ANY INIMICAL SWEDISH ACTIONS.

3. AFTER A YEAR ON THE GROUND AND AFTER VISITS TO SAAB-SCANIA AND VOLVO DEFENSE PRODUCTION ESTABLISHMENTS, I NOW GIVE A RATING EVEN HIGHER THAN I GAVE IT SHORTLY AFTER MY ARRIVAL TO THE IMPORTANCE OF OUR TECHNOLOGY INPUT TO SWEDISH NATIONAL DEFENSE, I.E. SWEDISH ARMED NEUTRALITY. OUR INPUT WILL BE PRACTICALLY INDISPENSALBE OVER THE NEXT FIFTEEN YEARS.

4. AS FAR AS I CAN ASCERTAIN FROM THE RECORDS AVAILABLE HERE, THE MILITARY DATA EXCHANGES HAVE BEEN CONDUCTED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY THROUGH MILITARY-TECHNICAL CHANNELS. IT APPEARS THAT IN THE PAST, ALTHOUGH THE EMBASSY HAS BEEN INFORMED AFTER THE FACT OF EXCHANGE AGREEMENTS NEGOTIATED IN THE FRAMEWORK OF OUR BASIC AGREEMENT, EMBASSY STOCKHOLM HAS NOT BEEN CONSULTED BY WASHINGTON OR HAS NOT TAKEN THE INITIATIVE TO STATE ITS VIEWS ON THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF MILITARY DATA EXCHANGES. I DO NOT SEE THE LOGIC OR EVEN THE POSSIBILITY OF SEPARATING CLASSIFIED MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE US AND SWEDISH DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENTS FROM THE NATIONAL INTEREST OF THE US IN ITS POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GOS. I BELIEVE CLOSER COORDINATION IS IN ORDER.

5. THE OBJECTIVE I HAVE IN MIND IS INSURING THAT EXPANDED OR NEW MILITARY EXCHANGE AGREEMENTS ARE WEIGHED IN A MANNER THAT:

A) PROVIDES THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND THIS EMBASSY (INCLUDING ITS POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY STAFFS) WITH A ROLE AND AN INFLUENCE VISIBLE TO THE GOS; AND  
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B) RESPECTS THE PREMISE THAT DECISIONS THAT HAVE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS AS WELL AS SECURITY AND ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS, ARE NOT MADE IN A POLITICAL VACUUM.

6. THE FIRST STEPS TOWARDS CLOSER COORDINATION CONCEIVABLY COULD BE THAT:

A) WASHINGTON CURRENTLY INFORM EMBASSY STOCKHOLM OF NEW INTERESTS COMMUNICATED VIA THE SWEDISH EMBASSY TO THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE; AND

B) WASHINGTON CONSULT WITH THIS EMBASSY ON THE POSSIBLE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF NEW DATA EXCHANGES UNDER NEGOTIATION.

7. I AM FULLY AWARE OF THE SENSITIVITY AND USEFULNESS OF THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE DOD AND THE SWEDISH DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENT, AND OF THE VALUE TO US OF CERTAIN RELATED COLLABORATIVE ARRANGEMENTS. THESE CONNECTIONS AND ARRANGEMENTS INEVITABLY HAVE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS, WHETHER OR NOT THERE IS ADEQUATE POLITICAL COORDINATION.

8. I AM WELL AWARE TOO, THAT SWEDISH AND US DEFENSE INDUSTRIES MAINTAIN MUTUALLY PROFITABLE RELATIONS. I DO NOT PROPOSE THAT THESE HAPPY RELATIONSHIPS BE DISTURBED, BUT SEEK ONLY TO INSURE THAT THEY PROVIDE US WITH A REASONABLE MEASURE OF POLITICAL ADVANTAGE. EVEN WITHOUT CHANGE IN THE POLICIES THAT UNDERLIE SUBSTANTIVE DECISIONS, POLITICAL BENEFITS CAN ACCRUE IF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND THE EMBASSY ARE SEEN TO BE AWARE OF WHAT IS GOING ON, AND TO HAVE AN IMPORTANT VOICE IN DECISIONS.

9. I WOULD APPRECIATE THE DEPARTMENT'S COMMENTS ON THESE RECOMMENDATIONS. STRAUSSZ-HUPE

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